1: Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

cide, adultery, and assault. In the first category, incest is punished under the authority of the clan council: the man is beaten, his hut burnt, his honey-barrels destroyed; the woman also is beaten. Witches might be killed under authority of the *koret* council. In cases of persistent disobedience to the council, the elders could call upon two or three men to force the offender, by moral and physical persuasion, to mend his ways. Of offences in the second category, trespass has already been mentioned (p. 58). Theft, when not dealt with summarily, can be brought to the *koret* council, which can order payment of compensation. A man accused of stealing food may say, "If I am a thief, may this grass eat me," and place a blade of grass between his teeth. Adultery might be punished by the injured husband, who, if he killed the offender, had to pay blood-cattle. If a man incapacitates another by assaulting him, he must feed him till he recovers. Homicide of a Dorobo of another clan, though not involving primary sanctions, was a serious offence because it meant that the murderer had to get cattle in order to pay compensation. The usual number was nine head of cattle, though when the murderer was a very poor man living alone the number might be reduced. The kind of cattle (male or female) did not matter. The murderer had to provide as many as he could, from his own herd if he had one, or by exchange from the Nandi, or by any other means, including theft. The deficiency had to be made up by his fellow-clansmen.

Summary

The Dorobo horde consists of a loosely integrated group of districts held together partly by the feeling that they are all Dorobo, but much more by the clan ties which cut across the district boundaries. The clan is therefore one of the chief institutions in the life of the Dorobo.

MAIN CULTURAL FEATURES

Crafts

Housing

(*a*) Forest type: the *koconget*, in use as late as 1927, was a framework of sticks bent over to form an oblong, dome-shaped structure, covered on the outside with banana leaves and leaves of trees; height, 6 ft.; length, 11 ft.; width, 7 ft. (*b*) New types: the *keriet* has a circular wall about 5 ft. high plastered with mud, and an almost flat thatched roof supported by a centre post; the *kot* is a hut of ordinary Nandi type, the walls of which are occasionally left unplastered.

Settlements in the forest, consisting of three or four *koconget* huts, were situated in clearings just big enough to hold the huts, and were approached by concealed paths which branched in a bewildering manner that made it impossible to find them without a guide. Settlements outside the forest are arranged in small groups usually close to the cultivated land.

Dress and Ornaments

Clothing is made largely from the skins of wild animals, and the forms are mainly copied from those of the Nandi, as are most of the ornaments, which include, among other things, iron wire armlets and leglets, necklaces, and married women's ear-rings (*taok*). The ear-lobes are pierced and elongated (sometimes getting torn in the forest), and a small hole is bored in the top of the ear. Some but not all remove the two lower middle incisors. Hair is allowed to grow to a length of about 2 ins., when it is sometimes covered with a bladder cap, and sometimes dressed with red earth and fat. Occasionally a man has his hair done in pigtails like the Nandi.

Tools and Weapons

Axes and knives are obtained from Nandi smiths, the Dorobo making the wooden handles. Needles are made from old nails and bits of wire which the Dorobo

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

597 [848] Adoption is also practised when an unmarried girl has a baby. In such cases it may be adopted by a childless couple, i. e. who have lost their children, or whose children have grown up and left them, but mostly (on the rare occasions when it occurs) the former. An adopted child has the status of a man's own child. Adoption may in certain cases be by previous arrangement. It has happened, I was told, that a person who has cattle or means of getting milk may hear that a certain girl has got pregnant, and gives notice that he will adopt the child when it comes. The mother of the girl accordingly tells him when the girl "enters the but", and the adopter's wife fetches the baby to her own home as soon as it born. She feeds it with milk from a small horn, and the Dorobo reckon that such babies will do all right, for they say, "such a child need not suck for very long". [848] [847] Illegitimate children are killed if nobody can be found to adopt them.

5. Adultery and divorce

● 684 Adultery may be punished by a husband who catches his wife with another man, by shooting the male offender with an arrow. If he kills him, he has to pay the normal compensation for homicide. He may also beat his wife, after which he "waits till she has got sense", as they put it, when he buys a goat for her, which they eat together. A man does not divorce his wife for a single act of adultery, but only if she is a bad and neglectful wife who is continually caught with other men.

586 When a man has, after much thought, made up his mind to divorce his wife, he calls in one of his relatives to help him perform the divorce ceremony. Taking a piece of liana, he rubs earth on it and gives one end to his relative to hold, taking the other end himself, the wife being present and looking on. They then break the liana in two, the man saying to his wife, *Kaail katunisiet kun kiil poroanni, ni ka, pakaktan* ("I have broken our marriage as this liana has been broken: go home and leave me"). He can then claim the return of the live stock which he paid to her father. But only a woman who has not borne her husband a child can be divorced; [581] once there has been a child, no divorce is possible, for the birth of a child completes the union, which once completed is indissoluble.

6. Polygyny

595 In theory a Dorobo can have as many wives as he can pay for, which means that usually a man has but one wife at a time. Polygyny may therefore be said to be non-existent. The only thing that does occur is the 587 occasional re-marriage of a man after the death or desertion of his wife, of which I recorded three cases. Widows, again, seldom re-marry, living normally either with their husbands' brothers, returning to their parents, or even living alone. In one genealogy, however, I found a woman who was married to four successive husbands, none of whom was her husband's brother, and having as issue but one daughter. The Dorobo themselves remarked upon this succession of marriages as being a most unusual occurrence.

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

and speak at it. People meet at the house of a clansman who, upon notice being given to him, prepares as much honey-wine as he can for the entertainment of the gathering, and what he provides may be supplemented by wine brought by other members. The business of the council is done with the aid of a jar of honey-wine in an informal way as if it were a social gathering, which in a sense it is, for the clan council through its informality has become a social bond between clansmen. Business is done first, and the drinking soon follows. The subjects which may be discussed include:

1. Disputes between members of the clan.
2. Hunting disputes.
3. Disputes about boundaries of hunting areas.
4. The preliminary business when a clansman has killed a member of another clan.
5. Homicide within the clan.
6. Sexual intercourse between a man and a girl of the clan. Disputes under heads 1-3 are settled by discussion, the leader of the council swaying, by his opinion, the views of the members. The leader, *kiruokindet*, is not necessarily the oldest member of the clan, for such a man might be too senile to act properly; but someone fairly senior in age, with his faculties intact, who is liked and respected, becomes in course of time (as in the case of the leader of the *koret* council) looked upon as a responsible person who can be safely listened to and whose judgement is sound.

More serious matters, like those under heads 4-6, are dealt with like the rest by discussion, but there is as well a certain traditional procedure to follow. When a clansman has killed a member of another clan, the council of the dead man's clan meets to discuss the compensation payable, and to choose a messenger who will be sent to the council of the murderer's clan to start proceedings, which after a preliminary discussion, are heard before the *koret* council, since two different clans are involved, and the matter is not purely the affair of one clan. When a man kills a member of his own clan, the whole matter is settled within the clan. First, the murderer has to brew some honey-wine and kill a goat from which the fat is collected. Then old men of both the families concerned meet at the house of the murderer and drink the wine he has provided, after which two of the old men oil the murderer all over with the goat's fat. The animal from which this fat is obtained must be a goat, and if the murderer has none of his own, he must get one by purchase or theft. He is therefore put to some trouble and even danger, for if he has to steal a goat he risks being speared if caught, and this constitutes an act of faith which, together with the anointing of his body, frees him from the uncleanness caused by the shedding of human blood. There is no payment of compensation for the murder of a clansman, but the murderer must if he can give his victim's wife one cow to help towards her maintenance. This last is a Nandi custom and was probably introduced in recent times after the Dorobo had begun to acquire cattle in a small way.

Sexual intercourse between a man and a girl of his clan is not an offence provided the girl does not have a baby, though the lover is not allowed

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

614 to marry her, and should the affair become known (as such things usually
623 do), the clan council can prevent, if necessary by force, any attempt of the
684 man to do so. Although such intercourse is not technically an offence, it is
[848] nevertheless regarded with great disapproval, and may result in the man's temporary ostracism, for as an elder told me, *ingoruiyo ci ok cepi ap tiliet, caluokto ne oo kut, amu mecome apaiitiek ngut mecome cesowilōk*, "if a man lies with a girl of his *tiliet* (by which he meant clan), it is a very great sin, for not only do the old men disapprove, but the spirits also disapprove". If, however, the act should result in a baby, then it becomes incest, and a very serious offence, treated as if it were intercourse with a relative in the *tiliet*, and summary punishment is inflicted on both offenders, for the crime of incest offends the *cesowilōk*, the spirits of the dead, and if the guilty are not punished there is a danger that the spirits in their wrath may hurt indiscriminately not only them but innocent people as well. So in such cases, when it is known that a girl has had a baby, the man is beaten by the men and women of his own clan, his hut is burned, his honey-barrels are destroyed, and he must provide a goat to be eaten by the male and female relatives of the girl. She herself is also beaten by women of her clan. This punishment is inflicted after due discussion at the clan council, and is therefore not just a spontaneous expression of group-resentment, but the deliberate action of public authority.

[M5]

614 Much of what has just been written applies to the past, that is, to the
648 time before the Government attempted to establish the Dorobo in Nandi
162 in 1937; and my census in 1939 revealed that there were comparatively few old men left, many less, in fact, than there were in 1927. The clan groupings therefore do not show so many old men as would have appeared normally, and most of the existing seniors of to-day are elder members of the Nyongi age-set, whose maximum age in 1939 was fifty. Some idea of the composition of a clan settlement in that year is given by the following particulars from my census:

[561]

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At Kipukua and Kipkorom, 2 miles apart; all Moi clan.	1 Kaplelac. 1 married Nyongi, wife and children. 1 married Maina, wife and children. 5 unmarried Maina. 1 Juma. 3 old women and 1 girl.
At Kepen; Moi and Kapsekoi clans.	1 Kimnyike. 2 married Nyongi, wives and children. 3 unmarried Nyongi. 6 unmarried Maina.
At Ndoroton and Ngatepkong, 3 miles apart; all Kipieken.	1 married Nyongi, wife absent. 4 unmarried Maina. 2 Juma. 3 widows and 2 girls living with them. 1 married Nyongi, wife and children. 1 married Maina, wife and children. 1 unmarried Nyongi.

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Private delicts include trespass, that is, hunting on another's land in the forest; theft, of honey-barrels in particular and of other things in general; murder; adultery; and assault. These are offences for which compensation is payable, or for which a man may kill the offender, e. g. for theft, though if he does so he must pay compensation for murder. Offences which concern fellow clansmen are dealt with by the clan council. Others came within the province of the *koret* council, which was not a daily affair, nor held at stated times, but only when there was a definite reason. When a person had some business which needed the calling of a council, he told the *kiruokindet*, who passed word round the *koret* that people should assemble on a certain day. If, for example, a man had been robbed of a honey-barrel, and knew who had stolen it, he would put the matter before the council, partly to decide on the amount of compensation, for the amount might vary according to the thief's circumstances, and partly to have public opinion behind him when he enforced his claim for payment. I believe that on the whole theft among the Dorobo themselves was not very common; and certain kinds of theft are regarded by them as so mean that a man must be very depraved indeed who will commit them. Besides, in a small horde whose members feel that outside their own circle every man's hand is against them, and to whom a stranger is a potential enemy until proved a friend, the need for unity and absence of friction is overwhelming if they are to survive. I certainly heard of no cases of theft during the period of my investigations.

We may now pass on to describe some of the traditional measures taken against offenders.

Incest. Incest means intercourse between a man and a woman of his *tiliet* (that is, one whom he calls by a relationship term), and a clanswoman. We have already described the punishment for this (see above, p. 127 f.), which in the first case is carried out with the approval of the *koret* council, and in the second, under the authority of the clan council.

Killing a Dorobo. When a man killed a Dorobo belonging to another clan, the council of the dead man's clan met to discuss the amount of compensation that was to be paid (*pas*), and then sent word to the council of the murderer's clan. This meant that the offence had been recognized, and that action must be taken. The council of the murderer's *koret* then assembled so that arrangements for payment could be made and become known to everybody. The murderer also had to be purified, in the same way as when the victim was a clansman. The *koret* council then met again to discuss the amount of the compensation. This, it seems, was usually reckoned at nine head of cattle (male or female), though it is doubtful if the full number was ever enforced [1], and if the murderer was a poor man with

[1] The number nine is probably due to imitation of the Nandi procedure, where nine is the amount payable as compensation for homicide.

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

out might be shot by the owner, who, if he killed the thief, would have to pay compensation for homicide. 685

If a man steals a honey-barrel from a man's recognised area in the forest, the case can be brought before the *koret* council, and the usual compensation is the payment of a goat, which the thief has to get from the Nandi if he has none of his own, though if the thief's circumstances were good, he might have to pay more. The Dorobo say that stealing honey-barrels is apt to be dangerous, because if a barrel is full of bees, the thief might be injured by their stings if they got his scent and did not recognise it.

I was told that theft of an animal caught in someone else's trap never occurred, partly because of the deep-seated public hatred of such an act, and partly because of the belief that after eating meat stolen from a trap the thief's belly would swell to a great size and he would die.

A person accused of stealing food may, to attest his innocence, take a blade of grass between his teeth and say: *Ingo a corin, kuama sussonge*, "If I am a thief, may this blade of grass eat me". [695]

A man who is found stealing ordinary property is beaten by the owner if he can catch him, but if in doing so the thief is killed, the owner must pay the compensation for homicide. In cases of serious theft, like stealing a man's bow and arrows, the case could be referred to the *koret* council, and the thief might have to pay adequate compensation. A man accused of theft might protest that he was innocent by throwing his knife at a tree and saying: *Ingo a corin, kuama ratuanno*, "If I am a thief, may this knife eat me". [692] [623] [695]

Trespass. To the Dorobo, trespass means hunting on somebody else's land. Normally this is no more than either following an animal across the boundary into another man's land, or else in the heat of the chase picking up the trail of another animal on someone else's land. If the hunter gives the owner of the land some of the meat, this accidental trespass is not considered as an offence. But if a man were deliberately to set out to hunt or trap on another man's land without permission or promise of meat, then the owner might, if he thought fit, kill him, though he would have to pay compensation for homicide. Trespass can occur only in the horde's own forest area. In the old days, when people roamed over the plains below, they could hunt where they pleased, and all they had to do was to keep out of the way of the Masae or Nandi herdsmen.

Adultery. A man who lies with another man's wife is said to *cor*, that is, steal her. He thereby commits an offence against her husband, who may kill him if he catches him in the act, and then, of course, must pay compensation; the wife may get a beating. A woman is not divorced for one act of adultery. 684

Assault. If a man injures another and incapacitates him, he must feed him till he recovers; and should the man eventually die as a result of the injury, the offender will have to pay compensation for homicide. 683

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Social Organization.—The Tribe.—The Wanderobo are very few in number, and are divided among three sections, each of which has its own habitat as follows (according to the Chief, who was my informant on this point):— 631 618

Section.	Habitat.	Approximate Numbers.
Kakamera — — — —	Kakamega — — — —	40
Chepsire — — — —	Shamalagala — — — —	40
Lakwabe — — — —	Lakwabe — — — —	40

Each section lives in a single village of its own, similar in structure to that already described. The sections are not totemic, but they are exogamous, and descent is in the male line. The tribe has but one chief, who lives at Kakamega (north of Kaimosi). Chiefainship is hereditary, and no woman is ever permitted to wield the powers of a chief. The Chepsire and the Lakwabe 643 622 are each presided over by a headman (paterfamilias).

Birth.—When a child is born the mother is assisted by female relations. There are no 644 official deliveries, as among the Lakwor. The Wanderobo allege that there are no special ceremonies connected with birth. Should a child come feet foremost into the world he will be lucky throughout life. It is stated that the afterbirth is thrown away with the rubbish. After weaning, a child occupies his father's hut, if a boy, and his mother's if a girl. 858

Betrothal and Marriage.—The rules for betrothal seem to be very similar to those usual 589 among the Lakwor, except that the prospective husband goes to the girl's people direct, without representation in the first instance. The consent of the girl and of the parents on both sides is necessary, and the number of gifts is not specified as it is among the Lakwor.

Marriage is celebrated by a feast in which the people of the two sections to which the 585 contracting parties belong take part. There is no dance peculiar to the marriage feast. After 591 marriage a man lives for two days and nights in the hut of his betrothed, after which she returns with him to his own village, there to occupy a new hut already built for the newly married 342 couple by the male partner, after he has consulted the wizard with regard to the luckiest time for erecting it.

Burial.—All the dead are buried without special ceremony.[1] There is no special burial 764 ground, but graves are dug "out in the bush," well away from the village.

Age Classes.—These appear to be quite unknown. 561

Crime and Punishment.—The chief offence is adultery. This, however, is a private affair, 684 and is dealt with privately, for it is not a sin against the community. A woman who is guilty in respect of this is cast out by her husband, who seeks the offending man with a view to slaying him. Murder is, however, a tribal affair, for which the punishment is death. The Lakwor 682 practice in this respect is not followed.

[1] This statement was subsequently contradicted, in so far as it was stated that the wizard attends at all burials.

16: Merker--916 G-4 (1906-ca.1908) 1910 PL13 Masai
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/339 cont./

IV.

600 Marital relations. -- Polygyny. -- Betrothal. -- State of being betrothed. -- Conversion of the young men to the state of the married. -- Bride price. -- Forcing the consent of the father of the bride. -- Exchange of wives. -- Obstacles to marriage. -- Entering into marriage. -- Dissolution of the marriage.

595 The marital relations also offer little that is new. Polygyny exists only to a limited extent; most of the people are too poor to acquire and support more than one wife; only a few have two wives, 584 and if a man has three of them it is a rarity. Betrothal in earliest 1971 childhood seem to be more frequent here than among the Masai, but no more binding and without legal consequences. As a rule after circumcision the youth is betrothed to a girl eight to ten years old, after his father has proposed for him to her parents. As among the Masai, the /340/ betrothed persons live apart and may not even see each other. The bridegroom lives with a girl in the one camp, and [836] in the other, the bride with another youth. If the bride becomes [598] pregnant before the wedding, dissolution of the betrothal does not [845] always take place, as among the Masai, but rather the one who made her pregnant must reimburse the bridegroom by the payment of a head of cattle.

561 Here, just as among the Masai, the young men of an age class 582 together decide upon their entering the standing of the married, and 574 their fellow campmates confirm this intention by a feast corresponding to the ol gonâ ! ol lê, in which friends and neighbors participate. [273] They are served game and honey beer, the latter of which, however, [224] the marriage candidates may not yet drink. They like to set the feast for the day after a successful elephant hunt, so that the guests can feast heartily on meat.

583 Before marriage can be entered into, the bride price is to be [439] paid. The bridegroom usually gives the father of the bride, even before her circumcision, five pots of honey and five beehives, and, soon after her circumcision, half of a slain female elephant with the rank that belongs to its furthermore, two head of cattle, which